



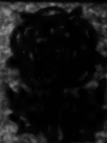


SIR
WALTER RALPH
SCEPTICK
OR
SPECULATIONS
And
OBSERVATIONS
of the Magnificency and Opulency
of CITIES

His
SEAT of GOVERNMENT.

And
LETTERS to the KING
and other of the Court.

Also his Demerit before his
EXECUTION.



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THE
OFFICE OF THE
SHERIFF OF THE COUNTY OF
SHERIFF'S OFFICE

NOTICE
TO THE
CREDITORS OF
THE ESTATE OF
JAMES M. HARRIS
DECEASED



ALL PERSONS
HOLDING CLAIMS
AGAINST THE ESTATE
OF THE ABOVE NAMED
DECEASED ARE
HEREBY NOTIFIED
TO PRESENT THEM
TO THE SHERIFF
OF THE COUNTY OF
SHERIFF'S OFFICE
AT THE CITY OF
MEMPHIS
TENN. FOR PAYMENT
ON OR BEFORE
THE 1ST DAY OF
JANUARY NEXT
NEXT



Sir *Walter Raleigh's*
 S C E P T I C K.

The SCEPTICK doth neither affirm, neither denie any Position: but doubteth of it, and opposeth his Reasons against that which is affirmed, or denied, to justifie his not Consenting.



Is first Reason ariseth, from the consideration of the great difference amongst living Creatures, both in the matter and manner of their Genera-
 B tions,

tions, and the several Constitutions of their bodies.

Some living Creatures are by copulation, and some without it, and that either by Fire as Crickets in fornaces; or corrupt water, as Gnats; or slime, as Frogs; or dirt, as Worms; or herbs, as Canker-worms: some of ashes, as Beetles; some of trees, as the Worms *Psenas* bred in the wild Fig-tree; some of living creatures putrified, as Bees of Bulls, and Wasps of Horses. By Copulation many creatures are brought forth alive, as Man; some in the egg, as Birds; some in an
un-

Sceptick.

unshapen piece of flesh, as Bears. These great differences cannot but cause a divers and contrary temperament, and qualitie in those creatures, and consequently, a great diversitie in their phantasie and conceit; so that they apprehend one and the same object, yet they must do it after a divers manner; for is it not absurd to affirm, That creatures differ so much in temperature, and yet agree in conceit concerning one and the same object?

But this will more plainly appear, if the instruments of Sense in the body be observed: for we shall find, that

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as these instruments are affected and disposed, so doth the Imagination conceit that which by them is connexed unto it. That very object which seemeth unto us White, unto them which have the Jaundise, seemeth Pale, and Red unto those whose Eyes are bloud-shot. Forso much then as living creatures have some white, some pale, some red eyes, why should not one and the same object seem to some white, some red, to some pale? If a man rub his eye, the figure of that which he beholdeth seemeth long, or narrow, is it then not likely, That those creatures which have a long
and

Sceptick.

and slanting Pupil of the eye, as Goats, Foxes, Cats, &c. do convey the fashion of that which they behold under another form to the imagination, than those that have round Pupils do do?

Who knoweth not, that a Glass presenteth the outward object smoother, or greater, according to the making of the glass? If it be hollow, the object seemeth smaller than it is, if the glass be crooked, then the object seemeth long and narrow. And glasses there be, which presenteth the head of him that looketh in them, downwards, & the heels upwards. Now then, seeing the eye

B 3 which

Sir *Walter Raleigh's*

which is the instrument of Sight, in some living creatures is more outward, in some more hollow, in some plain, in some greater, in some less; it is very probable, that Fishes, Men, Lions, and Dogs; whose eyes so much differ, do not conceive the self same object after the same manner, but diversely, according to the diversitie of the eye; which offereth it unto the phantasie.

Touch

in 2.

The same reason holdeth in Touching; for seemeth it not absurd to think, that those creatures, which are covered with Shells, those which are covered with Scales, those which are covered

Sceptick.

covered with Hairs, and those which are Smooth, should all be alike sensible in Touching? and every one of them conveigh the image, or qualitie of the same object which they touch, in the very same degree of heat or cold, of driness or moisture, roughness or smoothness unto the imagination?

So might it be shewed in Hearing, for how cā we think that the Ear, which hath a narrow passage, and the Ear, which hath an open & wide passage, do receive the same sound in the same degree? or that the Ear, whose inside is full of hair, doth hear in the

Sir Walter Raleigh's

same just measure, that the Ear doth whose inside is smooth? Since experience sheweth, that if we stop, or half stop our Ears, the sound cometh not to us in the same manner and degree, that it doth if our ears be open?

*Smel-
ling.*

The like may be thought of Smelling, for man himself abounding with Fleagm, is otherwise affected in smelling, than he is, if the parts about the head be full of bloud; and many things afford a delightfull smell to some living creatures, which smel to other living creatures seemeth not to be so.

*Tast-
ing.*

In the Taste the same reason appeareth; for to a rough
and

and drie tongue, that very thing seemeth bitter (as in an Ague) which to the moister tongue seemeth not to be so. Divers creatures then having tongues drier, or moister, according to their severall temperatures, when they tast the same thing, must needs conceit it to be according as the instrument of their tast is affected, either bitter, or sweet, &c. For even as the hand in the striking of the Harp, though the stroak be one, yet causeth a sound, sometimes high, sometimes base, according to the quality of the string that is stricken. Even so one and the same outward object is di-

versly judged of, and conceited, according to the severall and divers qualities of the instrument of Sense, which conveyeth it to the imagination. Oyntment is pleasing to Man; but Beetles and Bees cannot abide it. Oyl to man is profitable; but it killeth Bees and Wasps. Cicuta feedeth Quails, and Henbane Sows; but both of these hurt Man. If a Man eat Ants he is sick; but the Bear being sick, recovereth by eating them.

If then one and the very same thing to the red eye seem red, to another pale, and white to another: If one and the same thing, seem

yellow

and

not

Sceptick.

not hot or cold, drie or moist, in the same degree to the several creatures which touch it : If one and the self same sound seem more shrill to that creature which hath a narrow ear, and more base to him that hath an open ear : If the same thing, at the same time, seem to afford a pleasant and displeasing Smell to divers and several creatures : If that seem bitter in tast to one, which to another seemeth sweet, that to one hurtful, which to another seemeth healthful, I may report how these things appear divers to several creatures, and seem to produce divers effects.

But

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but what they are in their own nature, whether red or white, bitter or sweet, healthfull or hurtfull, I cannot tell. For why should I presume to profer my conceit and imagination, in affirming that a thing is thus, or thus, in its own nature, because it seemeth to me to be so, before the conceit of other living creatures, who may as well think it to be otherwise in each one nature, because it appeareth otherwise to them than it doth to me?

They are living creatures as well as I, why then should I condemn their conceit and phantasie, concerning any thing, more than they may mince?

mine? They may be in the truth and I in error, as well as I in truth, and they err. If my conceit must be believed before theirs, great reason that it be proved to be truer than theirs. And this proof must be either by demonstration, or without it; without it none will believe; Certainly, if by demonstration, then this demonstration must seem to be true, or not seem to be true; if it seem to be true, then will it be a question, whether it be so indeed as it seemeth to be; and to alleadge that for a certain proof, which is uncertain and questionable, seemeth absurd.

If

If it be said, that the imagination of Man judgeth the value of the outward object, that the imagination of other living creatures doth, & therefore to be credited above others, (besides that which already said) this is easily refuted by comparing of Man with other creatures.

It is confessed, the Dog excelleth Man in smell, and in hearing, and whereas there is said to be a twofold discourse, one of the mind, and other of the tongue, and that of the mind is said to be exercised in chusing that which is convenient, and refusing that which is hurtfull in knowledge, justice, & thankfulness

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fulnes: This creature chuseth
his food, refuseth the whip,
fawneth on his Master, de-
fendeth his house, revengeth
himself of those strangers
that hurt him. And *Homer*
mentioneth *Argus*, the dog
of *Ulysses*, who knew his ma-
ster having been from home
so many years, that at his re-
turn, all the people of his
house had forgot him. This
creature, saith *Chrysippus*, is
not void of Logick; for when
in following any beast, he cō-
eth to three several ways, he
smelleth to the one, & then
to the second, and if he find
that the beast which he pur-
sueth be not fled one of these
2 ways, he presently without
smelling

Smelling any further to
taketh the third way, which
saith the same Philosopher
is as if he reasoned thus, the
Beast must be gone either
this, or this, or the other
way; but neither this nor
this, *Ergò*, the third: and
away he runneth.

If we consider his skill
Phyick, it is sufficient to
help himself; if he be wound
ed with a dart, he useth the
help of his Teeth to take
out, of his Tongue to cleanse
the wound from corruption
he seemeth to be well ac
quainted with the Precept of
Hippocrates, who saith, that
the Rest of the Foot is the
Phyick of the Foot, and
there

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therefore if his foot be hurt,
he holdeth it up that it may
rest; if he be sick, he giveth
himself a Vomit by eating of
Grass, and recovereth him-
self; the Dog then we see is
plentifully furnished with in-
ward discourse.

Now outward speech is
not needfull to make a crea-
ture Reasonable, else a dumb
Man were an unreasonable
Creature.

And do not Philosophers
themselves reject this as an
enēie to knowledg? & there-
fore they are *Sile* when they
are instructed; and yet even
as Barbarous and strange
people of speech, but we un-
derstand it not, neither do we
perceive

perceive any great difference
in their words : but a difference
there seemeth to be, as
they do express their thoughts
and meanings one to another
by those words. Evē so the
creatures, which are commonly
called unreasonable, do seem
to parlie one with another;
and by their speech to understand
one the other. Do not Birds by
one kind of speech call their
young on, and by another cause
them to hide themselves? do they
not by their several voices
express their several passions
of joy, of grief, of fear, in
such manner, that their fellows
understand them? do they
not by their voice follow
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shew things to come? But we will return to that creature we first did instance in. The Dog delivereth one kind of voice when he hunteth, another when he howleth, another when he is beaten, and another when he is angry. These creatures then are not void of outward speech.

If then these creatures excel Man in sence, & are equal to him in inward & outward discourse, why should not their conceits & imaginations conveigh the outward object in as true a manner as ours? and if so, then seeing their imaginations are divers, and they conceit it diversly according to their
divers

divers temperaments, I may
tell what the outward object
seemeth to me ; but what
seemeth to other creatures
or whether it be indeed that
which it seemeth to me , or
any other of them , I know
not.

But be it granted, that the
Judgement of Man in this
case, is to be preferred before
the Judgement of Beasts; yet
in Men there is great difference;
both in respect of the
outward shape , and also
the temperature of their bodies:
For the bodie of the
Scythian differeth in shape
from the bodie of the *Indian*
the reason of it ariseth (say
the Dogmatiques) from

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predominancie of humours
in the one more than in the
other; and as several hu-
mours are predominant, so
are the phantasies and con-
ceits severally framed and
effected. So that our coun-
treymen delight in one
thing, the *Indian* not in that,
but in another which we re-
gard not. This would not
be, if their conceits and ours
were both alike, for then we
should like that which they
do, and they would dislike
that which we would dislike.
It is evident also, that men
differ very much in the tem-
perature of their bodies, else
why should some more easily
digest Beef than Shel-fish:
and

and other be mad for the time, if they drink wine? There was an old woman about *Arbeus*, which drunk three drams of *Cicuta* (every dram weighing sixtie Barley corns, and eight drams to an ounce) without hurt. *Lysis*, without hurt, took four drams of Poppie; and *Demophon*, which was Gentleman-Sewer to *Alexander*, was very cold whē he stood in the sun, or in a hot bath; but very not when he stood in the shadow. *Athenagoras* felt no pain if a Scorpion stung him. And the *Psilli* (.a people in *Lybia*, whose bodies are venom to serpents) if they be stung by serpents, or
Asps,

Asps , receive no hurt at all.

The *Ethiopians* , which inhabit the river *Hydaspsis* , do eat serpents and scorpions without danger. *Lotharius* a Chyrurgian , at the smell of a Surgeon , would be for the time mad. *Andron* of *Argos* , was so little thirstie , that without want of drink , he travelled through the hot and drie countrey of *Lybia*. *Tyberius Cesar* , would see very well in the dark. *Aristotle* , mentioneth of *Thracius* , who said , that the image of a Man went always before him.

If then it be so, that there
be

be such differences in Men, this must be by reason of the divers temperatures they have, and divers disposition of their conceit and imagination; for, if one hate, and another love the very same thing, it must be that their phantasies differ, else all would love it, or all would hate it. These Men then, may tell how these things seem to them good, or bad; but what they are in their own Nature they cannot tell.

If we will hearken to mens opinions, concerning one and the same matter, thinking thereby to come to the knowledge of it, we shall
find

find this to be impossible ;
for , either we must believe
what all men say of it , or
what some men onely say of
it. To believe what all men
say of one and the same
thing , is not possible ; for
then we shall believe Con-
trarieties; for some men say,
That that very thing is plea-
sant, which other say is dis-
pleasant. If it be said we
must believe onely some
men , then let it be shewed
who those some men are ;
for the *Platonists* will believe
Plato, but the *Epicures* *Epi-*
curus , the *Pythagorians* *Py-*
thagorus and other Philoso-
phers , the masters of their
own Sects:so that it is doubt-
full

full, to which of all these we shall give credit. If it be said, that we must credit the greatest number, this seemeth childish, for there may be amongst other Nations a greater number which donie that very point, which the greatest number with us do affirm: so that hereof nothing can certainly be affirmed.

This Argument seemeth to be further confirmed, if the differences of the Sences of *Hearing, Seeing, Smelling, Touching*, and *Tasting* be considered; for that the Sences differ, it seemeth plain.

Painted Tables (in which
the

the art of Slanting is used) appear to the Eye, as if the parts of them were some higher, and some lower than the other, but to the Touch they seem not to be so.

Honey seemeth to the Tongue sweet, but unpleasant to the Eye: so Oynment doth recreate the Smell, but it offendeth the Taste. Rain-water is profitable to the Eyes, but it hurteth the Lungs. We may tell then, how these things seem to our several senses, but what they are in their own nature we cannot tell: for why should not a man credit any one of his senses as well as the other?

C 2 Every

Every object seemeth to be presented diversly unto the severall instruments of Sence. An Apple to the Touch seemeth smooth, sweet to the Smell, and to the Eye yellow; but whether the Apple have one of these qualities onely, or more than these qualities, who can tell? The Organ hath many Pipes, all which are filled with the same blast of wind, varied according to the capacitie of the severall Pipes which receive it: even so the qualitie of the Apple may be but one, and that this one qualitie may be varied, and seem yellow to the Eye, to the Touch smooth, and
sweet

sweet to the Smell, by reason of the divers instruments of the Sence, which apprehend this one quality diversly,

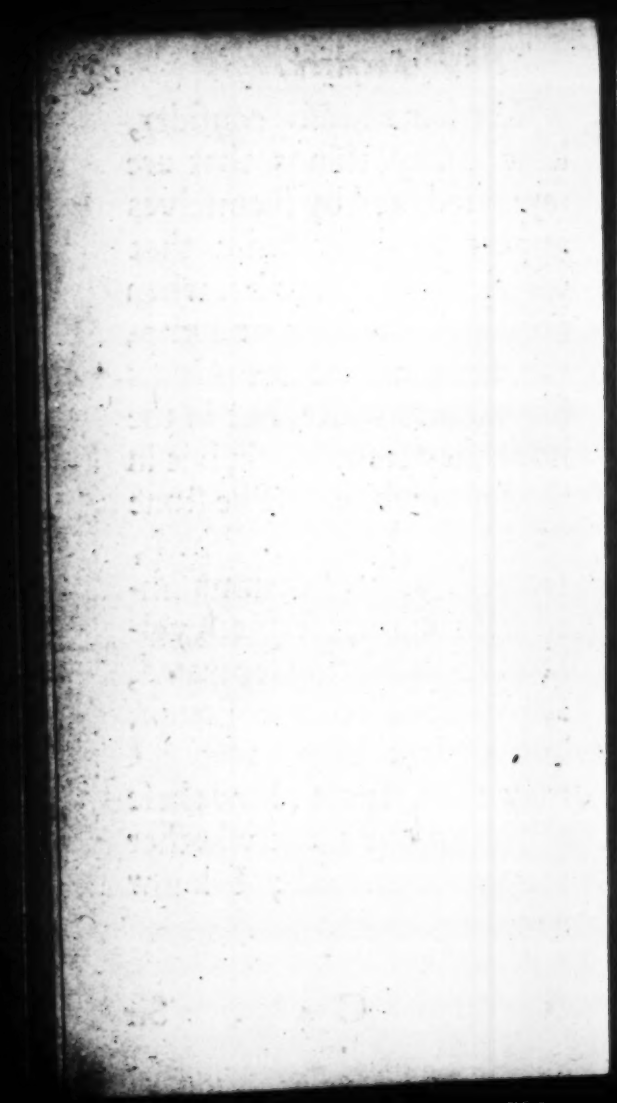
It may be also, that an Apple hath many qualities besides, but we are not able to conceive them all; because we want fit means and instruments to apprehend them: for suppose that some Man is born blind, and deaf, and yet can touch, smell, and tast; this man will not think that there is any thing, which may be seen or heard, because he wanteth the Sences of hearing and seeing, he will onely think there are those qualities in the object, which

by reason of his three Sences he conceiveth : Even so the Apple may have many more qualities ; but we cannot come to know them, because we want fit instruments for that purpose.

If it be replied , that Nature hath ordained as many instruments of Sence , as there are sensible objects ; I demand, What Nature? for there is a confused controverſie about the very Effence of Nature. Some affirming it to be one thing, others another, few agreeing : so that what the qualitie of an Apple is, or whether it hath one qualitie or many I know not.

Let

Let a man also consider, how many things that are seperated, and by themselves appear to differ from that which they seem to be, when they are in a mass or lump; the scrapings of the Goats horn seems white, but in the horn they seem black, but in the lump white. The stone *Tanarus*, being polished, seemeth white, but unpolished and rough, it seemeth yellow. Sands being seperated, appear rough to the Touch, but a great heap, soft. I may then report, how these things appear, but whether they are so indeed, I know not.





Sir *Walter Raleigh's*
OBSERVATIONS
Concerning the Causes of
the Magnificencie and
Opulencie of
CITIES.

THAT the onely
 way to civilize
 and reform the
 savage and bar-
 barous Lives, and corrupt
 Manners of such people,
 is,

I To be dealt withall by
 gentle and loving **C**onversa-
 tion among them, to attain

to the knowledge of their Language, and of the multitude of their special commodities and inconveniences in their manner of living.

2 The next is to get an admired reputation amongst them, upon a solid and true foundation of Piety, Justice, and wisdom, conjoynd with fortitude and power.

3 The third is, discretely to possess them with a knowledge of the condition of their own estate. Thus *Orpheus* and *Amphion*, were said to draw after them the beasts of the field, &c.

And this must be first wrought by a visible representation-

sentation, of the certaintie, truth, and sinceritie of these, together with the felicitie of a reformed estate.

All which is but to give foundation, bottom, and firm footing unto action, and to prepare them to receive wholesom and good advise, for the future profit and felicitie of themselves and their posteritie.

For the more commodious effecting of this Reformation in a rude and barbarous people, they are to be perswaded to withdraw and unite themselves into several Colonies; that by an interchangeable communication, and commerce of all things
may

may more commodiously be had, and that they may so live together in civilitie, for the better succour and welfare of one another: And thereby they may more easily be instructed in the Christian Faith, and governed under the Magistrates and ministers of the King, or other superiour power, under whom this Reformation is fought; which course the Stoick tells, that *Thesius* took, after he had taken upon him the Government of the *Athenians*, whereby he united all the people into one Citie, that before lived disperfedly in many Villages. The like is put in practice

Since at this day by the *Portugalls*, and *Jesuits*, that they may with less difficultie and hinderance reform the rough behaviour, and savage life of the people of *Brazeel*, who dwell scattered & dispersed in caves and cottages made of boughs and leaves of the Palm-trees.

Alexander the Great, built more than seventie Cities; *Seleucus* built three Cities, called *Appanise*, to the honour of his wife; and five called *Laodicea*, in memorie of his mother; and five called *Selencia*, to the honour of himself.

Safetie

*Safetie for Defence of the
People and their goods,
in and near the
Town.*

*Scitu-
ation
for
Safety,
and
Plenty.*

IN the Scituation of Ci-
ties, there is to be requi-
red a place of Safetie, by
some natural strength, com-
modiousness for Navigation,
and Conduct, for the attain-
ing of plentie of all good
things, for the sustenance and
comfort of mans life, and to
draw trade and entercourse
of other Nations, as if the
same be scituate in such sort,
as many people have need to
repair thither for some natu-
ral commoditie, or other of
the

the Countrey, which by traffick and transportation of commodities, whereof they have more plentie than will supplie their own necessitie, or for receiving of things whereof they have scarcitie. And much better will it be, if the place afford some notable commoditie of it self, from whence other Nations may more readily, and at better rate attain the same. Likewise, and withall, be so fertil, pleasant, and healthfull of it self, that it may afford plentie of good things, for the delight and comfort of the inhabitants.

In former times, great Nations, Kings and Potentates have

Multitude of Inhabitants

have endured sharp conflicts, and held it high Policie, by all means to increase their Cities, with multitudes of inhabitants. And to this end the *Romans* ever furnished themselves with strength and power, to make their neighbour-People, of necessity, willing to draw themselves to *Rome* to dwell, and overthrow their Towns and Villages of mean strength, down to the ground.

So did they for this cause utterly destroy many Cities, bringing always the vanquished Captives to *Rome*, for the augmentation of that Citie.

Romulus, after a mightie fight

fight with the *Sabynes* condescended to Peace, upon condition, that *Tacius* their King should come with all their people to dwell at *Rome*: *Tacius* did accept and made choice of the *Capitol*, and the Mount *Quirinalis* for his seat and Palace.

The same course held *Tamberlain* the Great, whereby he enlarged the great *Sarmacanda*, still bringing unto it, the richest and wealthiest Citizens he had subdued.

And the *Ottomans*, to make the Citie *Constantinople* rich and great, brought to it many thousand Families,

lies, especially Artificers out of the subdued Cities, as *Mahomet* the Great from *Trabizond*, *Selim* the First from *Cairo*, and *Soliman* from *Tauris*.

Authoritie and necessitie, without the consideration of the conveniencies, and commodiousness of Scituation above mentioned, are of small moment in the foundation of a Citie, thereby onely it would be unlikely, either to grow or continue in Magnificencie or Opulencie: for if Profit, Height, and Delight, go not companions therewith, no authoritie or necessitie, can retain much People or Wealth.

BUT

But if the place whereupon a Citie is to be founded, be commodious for the aforesaid conveniences, which help greatly for the felicitie of this life; then, no doubt, the same is likely to draw much abundance of people and riches unto the same, whereby it may, by the help of Arts & Industrie in time, become magnificent and glorious.

Unto the good estate, greatness, and glorie of a Citie, those things hereafter mentioned do greatly avail, and are of much importance, *viz.*

Religion, which is of such Religion. force and might, to amplifie
Cities

Cities and Dominions , and of such attractive virtue to replenish the same with people and wealth, and to hold them in due obedience , as none can be more; for without adoration of some Dietie, no Common-wealth can subsist.

Witness *Ferusalem, Rome, Constantinople*, and all other cities that have been famous for the profession of Religion, or Divine worship. And no marvel , for there is not any thing in this world of more efficacie and force to allure and draw to it the hearts of Men , than God, which is the *summum bonum*. He is carefully desired , and
conti-

continually sought for of all creatures; for all regard Him as their last end and refuge.

Light things apply themselves upwards, heavy things downwards; the Heavens to Revolution, the Herbs to flowers, Trees to bear fruit, Beasts to present their kind, and Man in seeking his tranquillitie and everlasting glory. But forasmuch as God is of so high a nature, as the sense and understanding of Man cānot conceive it, every man directly turns himself to that place where he leaves some print of his power, or declares some sign of his assistance. And to such persons whom he seemeth more c-
spe-

ſpecially to have revealed himſelf.

*Academi-
cists.*

Academies, and Schools of Learning, with convenient immunities and privileges for Scholars, and means for Recreation for Delight, are of great importance to enlarge and enrich a citie: ſo far as men long for honour and profit, and of Arts and liberal Sciences ſome bring certain wealth to men, and ſome promotions and preferments to honourable functions: for by this means, not onely young men, and thoſe that are deſirous of Learning and Virtue in the ſame Commonwealth, will be retained in

in their own Countrey; but also strangers will be drawn home to them. And the more will this be available if occasion be given to Scholars and students, to rise to degrees of Honour and preferment by their learned exercises, and that by the Policy of the same citie, good Wits be accounted of, and rewarded well: and that the same Academies & Schools be stored with plentie of Doctours and learned men, of great fame and reputation.

Courts of Justice, with Courts of Justice.
due execution of the same in
a citie, do much enable, en-
large, and enrich it; for it
fasten-

fasteneth a great liking in a
citie to virtuous men, and
such as be wealthie, that
therein they may be free, and
in safetie from the violence
of the oppressions of covet-
ous and wicked men: and
there will be rather resort
thither to inhabit, or traffick
there as occasions may mi-
nister unto them. And ma-
ny others that have cause of
suite will repair thither,
whereas they may be sure to
find Judgement and Justice
duely executed, whereby
the citie must needs be en-
larged and enriched: for our
lives, and as long as we
have are in the hands of Ju-
stice: so that if Justice be not
admi-

administered amongst men,
in vain is there any societie
and commerce, or any other
thing can be profitable or
safe; so much is love and
charitie failed, and iniquitie
increased upon the face of
the earth.

*Artifi-
cers.*

The excellencie and mul-
titude likewise of Artificers
exercising their manual arts
and trades, do marvellously
increase and enrich a State,
whereof some are necessary,
some commodious for a ci-
vil life, other some are of
pomp and ornament, and o-
ther some of delicacie and
curiositie. Of doth fol-
low com[m]on of people
that labour and work, and

D

cur-

current money which doth enrich & supply of Materials for labourers, & work-men, buying & selling, transportation from place to place, which doth inploy and increase the artificiose and cunning parts of the wit of Man; and this art and exquisiteness of work-manship and skill is so powerfull herein, that it far excels the simple commodities and materials that Nature produceth; and is alone sufficient of it self to make a Citie or State, both magnificent and glorious: and the daily experience we have in these our days, and in former times, doth manifestly approve the same, and
make

make evident without all contradiction.

Some natural benefits that a Citie also may have for the excellencie of Art, or work-manship of some special commodities above any other place, either through the qualitie of the Water, or other matter whatsoever, or some hidden mysterie of the inhabitants in working thereof, may be a great help for the enlargement and enriching of a citie.

The command of a Countrie that affordeth some proper commoditie, is of it self sufficient mightily to bring a Citie to great wealth, and to advance it to great power,

D 2 and

and draweth thereby dependencie and concourse, much advantageous also, as well for the publick weal, as the private person.

A Citie also may be Lord of much Merchandize and traffick, by means of the commodious scituation to many Nations, to whom it serveth and hath relation to, as Ware-houses, Roomth and Store-houses, by reason whereof, the nations adjoyning do use to resort thereunto to make their provisions of such things. And this consisteth in the largeness of the Ports, the fitness of the gulphs and creeks of the seas, in the Navigable rivers
and

and channels, and the plain and safe ways that leadeth to the Citie, or that come, or turn by or near it.

Priviledge and freedom from Customs and exacti-
ons, doth greatly increase the Trade, and draw inhabitants to a citie, whereby the same may become both rich and powerfull; whereof the Marts and Fairs, and Markets bear good witness, which are frequented with great concourse of people, Tradesmen and Merchants, for no other respect, but that they are there free and frank from Customs and exacti-
ons. And the cities in *Flan-*
ders are lively testimonies

Pri
ledg

hereof, where the Customs are very small.

By reason whereof, all such as have erected new Cities in times past to draw concourse of people unto it, have granted large immunities, and priviledges at the least, to the first inhabitants thereof.

The like have they done that have restored Cities emptied with Plague, consumed with Wars, or afflicted with Famine or some other scourge of God. In respect whereof, Freedom of Cities hath been often granted to such as would, with their families, inhabit there, or would bring Corn and other
neces-

necessaries for provision of victual.

The *Romans*, to increase their Cities, made the Towns that well deserved of them (which they after called *Municipia*) to be partakers of their franchises and privileges.

The first means the *Ro-*
mans used to allure people to make their habitations rather in *Rome* than elsewhere, was the opening the Sanctu-
arie, and giving libertie and freedom to all that would come unto them. In respect whereof, there flocked thither, with their goods, numbers of people that were either racked with exactions,

The first
desi-
res of
Rome
to al-
lure
stran-
gers
was
Sanctu-
arie.

thrust out of their habitations, or unsafe, or unsure for their lives in their own Countreys for Religion sake.

The very same reason in a manner hath increased so much the citie of *Geneva*: forasmuch as it hath offered entertainment to all comers, out of *France* and *Italie*, that have either forsaken, or been exiled their Countreys for Religions sake.

Tri-
umphs.

Likewise, triumphs, goodly buildings, battels on the water, fights of sword-players, hunting of wild beasts, publick shows and fights, plays solemnized with great pomp and preparation, and many

many other such things do draw the curious people to a citie inspeakably, which leaves behind them much treasure, and for such cause will rather settle themselves to inhabit there, than in other places. This was also the devise of *Rome* in her infancie to enlarge her self.

*The Causes that Concern the
Magnificencie of a
C I T I E.*

TO confirm a Citie in her Greatness, *Justice*, *Peace*, and *Plentie* are the undoubted means: for *Justice* assureth every man his own. *Peace* causeth all Arts and
D 5 negoti-

negotiations whatsoever to flourish: and *Plentie* of food and victual, that sustaineth the life of Man with ease and much contentment. To conclude, All those things that cause the Greatness of a Citie, are also fit to conserve the same.



Sir



Sir *Walter Raleigh's*
 Seat of
G O V E R N M E N T.

*That the Seat of Govern-
 ment is upheld by the two
 great pillars thereof, viz.
 Civil Justice, and Martial
 Policie; which are framed
 out of Husbandrie, Mer-
 chandize, and Gentrie of
 this Kingdom.*

THey say, that the
 goodliest CEDARS
 which grow on the
 high mountains of *Libanus*,
 thrust

thrust their roots between the clifts of hard Rocks, the better to bear themselves against the strong storms that blow there. As Nature hath instructed those kings of Trees, so hath Reason taught the Kings of Men, to root themselves in the hardie Hearts of their faithfull Subjects. And as those kings of Trees have large Tops, so have the Kings of Men large Crowns; whereof as the first would soon be broken from their bodies, were they not underborn by many branches; so would the other easily tytter, were they not fastened on their heads, with the strong chains of Civil Justice,

stice, and Martial Discipline.

1. For the administration of the first, even God himself hath given direction, *Judges and Officers shalt thou make, which shall judge the People with righteous judgement.*

2. The second is grounded on the first Laws of the world and nature, that Force is to be repelled by Force. Yea *Moses* in the 20 of *Exodus*, and else where, hath delivered us many Laws and Policies of War. But as we have heard of the neglect and abuse in both, so have we heard of the decline and ruine of many Kingdoms and States long before our days : for that Policie hath
never

never yet prevailed (though it hath served for a short season) where the counterfeit hath been sold for the natural, and the outward shew and formalitie for the substance. Of the Emperor *Charls* the Fourth, the writers of that age witness, that he used but the name of *Justice* and good order, being more learned in the Law than in doing right, and that he had by far, more knowledge than conscience. Certainly the unjust Magistrate that fancieth to himself a sollid and untransparable bodie of Gold, every ordinarie wit can vitrifie, and make transparant pierce, and discern

scern their corruptions; how-
soever, because not daring,
they cover their knowledge,
but in the mean while it is
also true, That constrained
dissimulation, either in the
proud heart, or in the op-
pressed, either in publick
estates, or in private persons,
where the fear of God is
not prevalent, doth in all the
leisure of her lurking, but
sharpen her teeth, the volun-
tarie being no less base, than
the forced malicious. Thus
it fared between the Ba-
rons of *England* and their
Kings, between the Lords of
Switzerland & their people,
between the *Sicilians* and
the *French*, between the *Dol-*
phine

phine and *Fohn* of *Burgoign*, between *Charls* the Ninth and the *French* Protestants, and between *Henry* the third, his successor, and the Lords of *Guise*, and hereof in place of more particulars, the whole world may serve for examples.

It is a difficult piece of Geographie, to delineate and lay out the bounds of Authority; but it is easie enough to conceive the best use of it, and by which it hath maintained it self in lasting happiness, it hath ever acquired more honour by perswading, than by beating; for as the bonds of Reason and Love are immortal, so do all other chains

chains or cords, both rustie and rot Noble parts of their own Royal and Politick bodies.

But we will forbear for a while to stretch this first ^{Husband-men.} string of *Civil Justice*; for in respect of the first sort of Men, *to wit*, of those that live by their own labour, they have never been displeased where they have been suffered to enjoy the fruit of their own travels, *Meum & Tuum*, Mine and Thine is all wherein they seek the certaintie and protection. True it is, that they are the Fruit-Trees of the Land, which God in *Deuteronomie* commanded to be spared,

spared, they gather honey,
and hardly enjoy the wax,
and break the ground with
great labour, giving the best
of their grain to the easefull
and idle.

*Mer-
chant.*

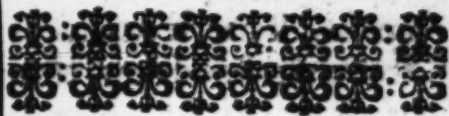
For the second sort, which
are the Mērchants, as the
first feed the Kingdom, so do
these enrich it, yea their
trades, especially those
which are forcible, are not
the least part of our Martial
Policie, as hereafter proved;
and to do them right, they
have in all ages and times
assisted the Kings of this
Land, not onely with great
sums of money, but with
great Fleets of Ships in all
their enterprises beyond the
seas.

seas. The second have seldom or never offended their Princes, to enjoy their trades at home upon tolerable conditions, hath ever contented them for the injuries received from other Nations, give them but the Commission of Reprisal, they will either Right themselves, or sit down with their own loss without complaint.

3. The third sort, which *Gentry* are the Gentry of *England*, these being neither seated in the lowest grounds, & thereby subject to the biting of every beast, nor in the highest Mountains, and thereby in danger to be torn with tempest; but the Valleys between

tween both, have their parts
in the inferiour Justice, and
being spred over all, are the
Garrisons of good order
throughout the Realm.





Sir WALTER RALEIGH'S
LETTERS.

*Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter
to M^r Secretary Winwood,
before his Journey to Gui-
ana.*

Honourable S I R,



Was lately per-
swaded, by two
Gentlemen, my
ancient Friends,
to acquaint your Honour
with some offers of mine,
made heretofore for a Jour-
ney to *Guiana*, who were of
opinion,

opinion, That it would be better understood now, than when it was first propounded, which advice having surmounted my dispair, I have presumed to send unto your Honour the Copies of those Letters which I then wrote, both to his Majestie, and to the Treasurer *Cecill*, wherein as well the reasons that first moved me are remembered, as the objections by him made, are briefly answered.

What I know of the riches of that place, not by hearsay, but what mine eyes hath seen, I have said it often, but it was then to no end: Because those that had
the

the greatest trust, were resolved not to believe it, not because they doubted the Truth, but because they doubted my Disposition towards themselves; where (if God had blessed me in the enterprize) I had recovered his Majesties favour and good opinion. Other cause than this, or other suspicion they never had any. Our late worthy Prince of *Wales* was extream curious in searching out the Nature of my offences, The Queens Majestie hath informed herself from the beginning, The King of Denmark at both times of his being here was thoroughly satisfied of my innocencie

nocency, they would otherwise never have moved his Majestie on my behalf.

The Wife, the Brother, and the Son of a King, do not use to sue for men suspect; but Sir, since they all have done it out of their charitie, and but with references to me alone. Your Honour (whose respect hath onely relation to his Majesties service) strengthened by the example of those Princes, may with the more hardnes do the like, being Princes to whom his Majesties good estate is no less dear, and all men that shall oppugne it, no less hatefull, than to the King himself.

It

It is true Sir, That his
Majestie hath sometimes an-
swered, That his Councel
knew me better than he did;
meaning some two or three
of them. And it was indeed
my infelicitie; for had his
Majestie known me, I had
never been here where I now
am: or had I known his
Majestie, they had never
been so long there where
they now are. His Majestie
not knowing of me hath
been my ruin, and his Maje-
sties misknowing of them,
hath been the ruin of a
goodly part of his estate: but
they are all of them now,
some living and some dying,
come to his Majesties know-
ledge.

E

ledge.

ledge. But Sir, how little
soever his Majestie knew me,
and how much soever he be-
lieved them, yet have I been
bound to his Majestie both
for my Life, and all that re-
mains, of which, but for his
Majestie, nor Life, nor ought
else had remained. In this
respect Sir, I am bound to
yield up the same life, and all
I have for his Majesties ser-
vice; to die for the King, and
not by the King, is all the
ambition I have in the
world.

Walter Raleigh.

Sir

Sir Walter Raleighs's Letter to his Wife, from Guiana.

Sweet Heart,

I Can yet write unto you but with a weak hand, for I have suffered the most violent Calenture for fifteen days, that ever man did, and lived : but God that gave me a strong heart in all my adversities, hath also now strengthened it in the hell-fire of heat.

We have had two most grievous sicknesses in our Ship, of which fourtie two have died, and there are yet many sick, but having recovered the land of *Guiana*,

this 12 of *November*, I hope we shall recover them. We are yet two hundred men, and the rest of our Fleet are reasonable strong, strong enough I hope to perform what we have undertaken, if the diligent care at *London*, to make our strength known to the Spanish King, by his Ambassadour, have not taught the Spanish King to fortifie all the enterances against us; howsoever we must make the Adventure, and if we perish, it shall be no honour for *England*, nor gain for his Majestie to loose among many other an hundred as valiant Gentlemen as *England* hath in it.

Of Captain *Baylies* base coming from us at the *Canaries*, see a Letter of *Remishes* to M^r *Skory*, & of the unnatural weather, storms and rains, and winds. He hath in the same letter, given a touch of the way that hath ever been sailed in fourteen days, now hardly performed in fourtie days; God I trust, will give us comfort in that which is to come.

In passage to the *Canaries*, I stayed at *Gomerah*, where I took water in peace, because the Countrey durst not denie it me; I received there of an English race, a Present of Oranges, Lemons, Quinces, and Pome-granates, without

which I could not have lived; those I preserved in fresh sands, and I have of them yet to my great refreshing. Your son had never so good health, having no distemper in all the heat under the Line. All my servants have escaped but *Crab* and my Cook, yet all have had the sickness. *Crofts* and *March*, and the rest are all well. Remember my service to my Lord *Carew*, and Mr Secretarie *Winwood*.

I write not to them, for I can write of nought but miseries: yet of men of sort, we have lost our Serjeant Major, Captain *Pigott*, and his Lieutenants, Captain *Ed-*

ward Hastings, who would have died at home, for both his liver, spleen, and brains were rotten. My sons Lieutenants *Payton*, and my cousin *Mr. Hews*, *Mr. Mordant*, *Mr. Gardner*, *Mr. Haward*, Captain *Fennings* the Merchant, *Kemish* of London, and the Master Chyrurgion, *Mr. Refiner*, *Mr. Moor* the Governour of the *Barmoudas*, our Provost Marsh. *W. Steed*, Lieutenant *Vescie*, but to mine inestimable grief, *Hammon* and *Talbot*. By the next I trust you shall hear better of us, in Gods hands we were, and in him we trust.

This bearer, Captain *Alley*, for his infirmitie of his
E 4 head,

head I have sent back, an honest valiant man, he can deliver you all that is past. Cōmend me to my worthy friends at *Loathbury*, *Sr. John Leigh* and *Mr. Bower*, whose Nephew *Knevit* is well, and to my cosin *Blundell*, and my most devoted and humble service to her Majestie.

To tell you that I might be here King of the *Indians*, were a vanitie, but my name hath still lived among them; here they feed me with fresh meat, and all that the Countrey yields, all offer to obey me. Commend me to poor *Carew* my son.

From Galliana in Guiana
the 14 of November.

Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter
to Sir Ralph Winwood.

S I R,

AS I have not hitherto given you any Account of our proceedings and passages towards the *Indies*, so have I no other subject to write of, than of the greatest misfortunes that ever befel any man: for whereas, for the first, All those that Navigate between *Cape de Verd* & *America*, to pass between fifteen or twentie days at most, we found the wind so contrary, and which are also contrary to nature, so many storms and rains, as we spent six weeks in the passage, by

reason whereof, and that in
so great heat we wanted wa-
ter: for at the Isle *Prano* of
Cape de verd, we lost our
Anchors and Cables, and
our water Casks, being dri-
ven from the Island with a
Hurlicano, and were like all
to have perished. Great
sickness fell amongst us, and
carried away great numbers
of our ablest men both for
sea and land. The 17 of *No-*
vember, we had sight of *Gui-*
ana, and soon after came to
Anchor in five degrees at
the River *Galliano*, here we
staid till the fourth of *De-*
cember, landed our sick men,
set up the Barges and Shal-
lops, which were brought out

of

of *England* in quarters, wash-
ed our Ships, and took in
fresh water, being fed and
cherished by the *Indians* of
my old acquaintance, with a
great deal of love & respect,
my self being in the hands of
death these 6 weeks, & was
not able otherwise to move
than as I was carried in a
chair, gave order to 5 small
Ships, to sail into *Orinoque*,
having Captain *Kemis* for
their Conductor towards
the Mynes, and in those five
Ships five Companies of 50
under the command of Ca-
ptain *Parker*, and Captain
North, brethren to the Lord
Mounteagle and the Lord
North, valiant Gentlemen,
and

and of infinite patience for the labour, hunger, and heat which they have endured, my son had the third Company, Captain *Thornix* of *Kent* the fourth Company, Captain *Chidley*, by his Lieutenant, the fifth: but as my Sergeant Major Captain *Piggot* of the *Low Countreys* died in the former miserable passage, so my Lieuetenant *Sir Warham S. Leiger* lay sick without hope of life, and the charge conferred on my Nephew *George Raleigh*, who had also served long with infinite commendations; but by reason of my absence, and of *Sir Warham* was not so well obeyed as the

the Enterprize required. As they passed up the River, the Spaniard began the War, and shot at us both with their Ordinance & Muskets; whereupon the Companies were forced to charge them, and soon after beat them out of the Town. In the assault, my son (more desirous of honour than safetie) was slain, with whom (to say truth) all the respects of this world have taken end in me. And although these five Captains had as weak Companies as ever followed valiant Leaders, yet were there amongst them some twentie or thirtie valiant adventurous Gentlemen, and of singular



Sir Walter Raleigh's

gular courage, as of my sons
Company, *Mr. Knivet, Mr.
Hammon, Mr. Langworth,
Mr. John Pleasington*; his
Officers, *Sir John Hamden,
Mr. Symon Leak* Corporal of
the Field, *Mr. Hammon* the
elder Brother, *Mr. Nicholas
of Buckingham, Mr. Roberts
of Kent, Mr. Perin, Mr. Tre-
sham, Mr. Mullinax, Mr. Win-
ter* and his brother, *Mr. Wray,
Mr. Miles Herbart, Mr. Brad-
shaw, Capt. Hall*, & others.

Sir, I have set down the
names of these Gentlemen,
to the end, that if his Maje-
stie shall have cause to use
their service, it may please
you to take notice of them
for very sufficient Gentle-
men.

men. The other five Ships staid at *Trinidado*, having no other Port capable for them near *Guiana*. The second Ship was commanded by my Vice-Admiral Capt. *John Pennington*, of whom (to do him right) he is one of the sufficientest Gentlemen for the Sea that *England* hath. The third by *Sir Warham S. Leiger*, an exceeding valiant & worthy Gentleman. The fourth by *S^r John Fern*. The fifth by Captain *Chidley* of *Devon*. With these five Ships I daily attended their Armado of *Spain*, which had they set upon us, our force divided, the one half in *Orinoque*, an hundred and

and fiftie miles from us, we had not onely been torn in pieces, but all those in the River had also perished, being of no force at all for the Sea-fight; for we had resolved to have been burnt by their sides, had the Armado arrived: but belike, they staid for us at *Margarita*, by which they knew we must pass towards the *Indies*: for it pleased his Majestie to value us at so little, as to command me upon my Alleageance, to set down under my hand the Countrey, and the River by which I was to enter it, to set down the number of my men, and burthen of my Ships, and what Ordinance every

every Ship carried , which being known to the *Spanish* Ambassador, and by him to the King of *Spain*, a dispatch was made , and letters sent from *Madrid* , before my departure out of the *Thames*; for his first letter sent by a Barque of Advise, was dated the 19 of *March* 1617. at *Madrid*, which letter I have here inclosed sent to your Honour , the rest I reserve, not knowing whether they may be intercepted or not. The second by the King, dated the second of *May*, sent also by a Coronel of *Diego de Polonieque*, Governour of *Guiana*, *Elderedo*, and *Trinidad*. The third by the Bishop

shop of *Porericho*, and delivered to *Polonieque* the 15 of *July*, at *Trinidado*. And the fourth was sent from the Farmer and Secretarie of his Customs in the *Indies*. At the same time, by that of the Kings hand, sent by the Bishop, there was also a Commission for the speedie levying of three hundred souldiers, and ten pieces of Ordinance to be sent from *Portricho*, for the defence of *Guiana*, an hundred and fiftie from *Nuevo Remo de Grando*, under the command of Captain *Anthony Musica*, and the other hundred and fiftie from *Portricho*, to be conducted by *C. Franc. Landio*.
Now

Now Sir, if all that have traded to the *Indies* since his Majesties time knew that the Spaniards have flayed alive all the poor men which they have taken, being but Merchant men, what death and cruel torment shall we expect if they conquer us? certainly they have hitherto failed grossly, being set out thence as we were, both for number, time, and place.

Lastly, to make an Apologie for not working the Myne, (although I know his Majestie expects) whom I am to satisfie so much, as myself, having lost my son, and my estate in the Enterprise, yet it is true, that the Spaniards

ards took more care to defend the passage leading unto it , than they did the Town , which by the Kings instructions they might easily do, the Countreys being *Aspera & Nemosia*.

But it is true , that when Capt. *Kemish* found the River low , and that he could not approach the Banks in most places near the Myne by a Mile , and where he found a descent, a volley of Muskets came from the woods upon the Boat , and flew two Rowers , and hurt six others , and shot a valiant Gentleman of Captain *Thornix*, of which wound he languisheth to this day. He,

to

to wit, *Kemish*, following his own advice, thought that it was in vain to discover the Myne; for he gave me this for an excuse at his return, that the Companies of English in the Town of *S. Thome* were not able to defend it, against the daily and nightly assaults of the Spaniards, that the passages to the Mynes, were thick and unpassable woods, and that the Myne being discovered, they had no men to work it, did not discover it at all: for it is true, the Spaniards having two gold Mynes near the Town, the one possessed by *Pedro Rodrigo de Paran*, the second by *Harmian Frotinio*, the

the third of silver, by Captain *Francisco*, for the want of *Negroes* to work them: for as the *Indians* cannot be constrained by a Law of *Charls* the Fifth, so the *Spaniards* will not, nor can endure the labour of those *Mynes*, whatsoever the *Bragadochio*, the *Spanish* Ambassador saith. I shall prove under the Proprietors hand, by the Custom-Book, and the Kings Quinto, of which I recovered an Ingot or two: I shall also make it appear to any Prince or State that will undertake it, how easily those *Mynes*, and five or six more of them may be possessed, and the most of them

in

in those parts , which never have as yet been attempted by any , nor by any passage to them, nor ever discovered by the English, French, or Dutch. But at *Kemiss* his return from *Orinoque*, when I rejected his counsel and his course, and told him that he had undone me, and wounded my credit with the King past recoverie, he slew himself; for I told him, that seeing my son was slain, I cared not if I had lost an hundred more in opening of the Myne, so my credit had been saved: for I protest before God, had not Capt. *Whitney* (to whom I gave more countenance than to all the Ca-

Captains of my Fleet) run
from me at the *Granadoes*,
and carried another ship
with him of Captain *Wolle-*
stons. I would have left my
body at *S. Thomes* by my
sons, or have brought with
me out of that or other
Mynes, so much Gold-oar,
as should have satisfied the
King. I propounded no vain
thing; what shall become of
me I know not, I am unpard-
oned in *England*, and my
poor estate consumed, and
whether any Prince will give
me bread or no I know not.
I desire your Honour to
hold me in your good opini-
on, to remember my service
to my Lord of *Arrundel* and

Pem

Pembroke, to take some pitie on my poor Wife, to whom I dare not write for renewing her sorrow for her son; and beseech you to give a copie of this to my Lord *Carew*: for to a broken mind, a sick bodie, and weak eyes, it is a torment to write many Letters. I have found many things of importance for discovering the state and weaknes of the *Indies*, which if I live, I shall hereafter impart unto your Honour, to whom I shall remain a faithfull servant.

Walter Raleigh.

F

Sir

*Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter
sent to his Wife, Copied
out of his own hand-wri-
ting.*

I Was loath to write, be-
cause I know not how to
comfort you, and God
knows, I never knew what
sorrow meant till now. All
that I can say to you is, that
you must obey the will and
providence of God, and re-
member, that the Queens
Majestie bare the loss of
Prince *Henry* with a magna-
nimonious heart, and the Ladie
Harrington of her son. Com-
fort your heart (dearest *Bess*)
I shall sorrow for us both, I
shall sorrow the less, because

I have not long to sorrow,
because not long to live. I
refer you to Mr. Secretarie
Winwoods Letter, who will
give you a copie of it, if you
send for it, therein you shall
know what hath passed; I
have written that Letter, for
my brains are broken, and it
is a torment for me to write,
and especially of misery. I
have desired Mr. Secretarie
to give my Lord *Garew* a
copie of his Letter. I have
censed my ship of sick men,
and sent them home; I hope
God will send us somewhat
before we return. You
shall hear from me if, I live,
from the New-found land,
where I mean to make clean

my ships and revictual, for I have Tobacco enough to pay for it. The Lord bless and comfort you, that you may bear patiently the death of your valliant son.

*This 22. of March, from the Isle of Christophers,
yours Walter Raleigh.*

Post-script.

I Protest before the Ma-
jestic of God, That as
Sir Francis Drake, and Sir
John Hawkins died heart-
broken when they failed of
their enterprize, I could will-
ingly do the like, did I not
contend against sorrow for
your sake. In hope to pro-
vide somewhat for you and

to comfort and relieve you. If I live to return, resolve your self that it is the care for you that hath strengthened my heart. It is true that *Kemish* might have gone directly to the Myne, & meant it, but after my sons death, he made them believe he knew not the way, and excused himself upon want of water in the River, and counterfeiting many impediments left it unfound. When he came back, I told him he had undone me, and that my credit was lost for ever; he answered, That when my son was lost, and that he left me so weak, that he resolved not to find me alive, he had

no reason to enrich a compa-
nie of Rascals, who after my
sons death made no account
of him. He further told me
that the English sent up into
Guiana, could hardly defend
the Spanish town of *S. Thome*
which they had taken, and
therefore for them to pass
through thick woods it was
impossible, and more impos-
sible to have victual brought
them into the Mountains.
And it is true, that the Go-
vernour *Diego Polanego*, and
other four Captains being
slain, whereof *Wats* slew one,
Plessington, *Wats* servant, and
John of Morocoes, one of his
men, slew other two. I say
five of them slain in the en-
ter

terance of the Town, the rest went off in a whole bodie, and took more care to defend the passages to their Mynes (of which they had three within a League of the Town, besides a Myne that was about five miles off) than they did of the Town it self. Yet *Kemish* at the first was resolved to go to the Myne; but when he came to the banck side to Land, and had two of his men slain outright from the bank, and six other hurt, and Captain *Thornix* shot in the head, of which wound, and the accident thereof, he hath pined away these twelve weeks.

Now when *Kemish* came
F 4 back

back and gave me the former Reasons which moved him not to open the Myne, the one the death of my son, a second the weakness of the English, and their impossibilities to work and to be victualled; a third that it were a follie to discover it for the Spaniards; and lastly my weakness and being unpardoned; and that I rejected all these his Arguments, and told him, that I must leave him to himself to resolve it to the King and State; he shut up himself into his Cabin, and shot himself with a pocket Pistol which broke one of his ribs, and finding that he had not prevailed, he thrust

thrust a long Knife under his short ribs up to the handle and died. Thus much I have written to M. Secretarie, to whose Letters I refer you to know the truth. I did after the sealing break open the Letter again, to let you know in brief the state of that business, which I pray you impart to my Lord of *Northumberland*, and *Silvanus Scory*.

For the rest, there was never poor man so exposed to slaughter as I was; for being commanded upon mine Allegiance to set down not onely the Countrey but the very River by which I was to enter it, to name my
F 5 Ships

Ships number, men, and my Artillerie. This now was sent by the Spanish Ambassador to his Master the King of *Spain*, the King wrote his Letters to all parts of the *Indies*, especially to the Governour *Palamago* of *Guiana*, *Elderado*, and *Trinidado*, of which the first Letter bore date 19 of *March* 1617, at *Madrill*, when I had not yet left the *Thames*, which Letter I have sent to M^r *Secretarie*. I have also other Letters of the Kings which I reserve, and one of the *Councils*. The King also sent a Commission to leavie three hundred souldiers out of his Garrisons of *unie Regno*

gno de Granado è Portricho, with ten pieces of brass Ordnance to entertain us; he also prepared an Army by sea to set upon us. It were too long to tell you how we were preserved, if I live I shall make it known; my brains are broken, and I cannot write much, I live yet, and I told you why. *Witney* for whom I sold all my Plate at *Plymouth*, and to whom I gave more credit and countenance than to all the Captains of my Fleet, ran from me at the *Grana-*
does, and *Wolleston* with him, so as I have now but five Ships, and out of those I have sent some into my Fly-boat,

Sir Walter Raleigh's

boat, a rabble of idle Rascals, which I know will not spare to wound me, but I care not. I am sure there is never a base slave in all the Fleet hath taken the pain and care that I have done, that have slept so little, and travelled so much, my friends will not believe them, and for the rest I care not; God in heaven blefs you and strengthen your heart.

Yours

Walter Raleigh.

Sir

Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter
to Mr Secretary Win-
wood.

S I R,

S Ince the death of *Kemish*,
Sit is confessed by the Ser-
jeant Major, and others of
his inward friends, that he
told them, that he could
have brought them unto
the Myne within two hours
March from the River side;
but because my son was slain,
my self unpardoned, and not
like to live, he had no reason
to open the Myne either for
the Spaniard or for the King;
they answered, that the King
(though I were not pardon-
ed) had granted my heart
under

under the Great Seal. He replied, that the grant to me was to no man, *non Ens* in the Law, and therefore of no force; this discourse they had, which I knew not of till after his death: but when I was resolved to write unto your Honour, he prayed me to joyn with him in excusing his not going to the Myne, I answered him I would not do it; but if my self could satisfie the King and State, that he had reason not to open it, I should be glad of it: but for my part, I must avow that he knew it, and that he might with loss have done it, & other excuses I would not frame: he told me that

that he would wait on me presently, and give me better satisfaction: but I was no sooner come from him into my Cabbin, but I heard a Pistol go over my head, and sending to know who shot it, word was brought me that *Kemish* shot it out of his Cabbin window to cleanse it; his boy going into his Cabbin, found him lying upon his bed with much blood by him, and looking in his face saw him dead; the Pistol being but little, did but crack his rib, but turning him over found a long Knife in his body, all but the handle. Sir, I have sent into *England* with my cousin *Harbert* (a very

ry valiant honest Gentleman) divers unworthy persons, good for nothing neither by sea nor land, and though it was at their own suit, yet I know they will wrong me in all that they can. I beseech your Honour, that the scorn of men may not be believed of me, who have taken more pains, and suffered more than the meanest Rascal in the Ship; these being gone, I shall be able to keep the Sea until the end of *August*, with some four reasonable good ships. Sir, wheresoever God shal permit me to arrive in any part of Europe, I will not fail to let your Honour know what we have

have done, till then, and ever
I rest

Your Honours

servant

W. Raleigh.

Sir WALTER RALEIGH'S
Letter to

King JAMES,

at his return from

GUIANA.

*May it please your most ex-
cellent Majestie,*

IF in my Journey outward
bound, I had my men
mur-

murthered at the Islands ,
and yet spared to take re-
venge , if I did discharge
some Spanish Barks taken
without spoil, if I forbare all
parts of the Spanish *Indies*,
wherein I might have taken
twentie of their Downs on
the sea-coasts, and did onely
follow the enterprize I un-
dertook for *Guiana* , where
without any directions from
me , a Spanish Village was
burnt , which was new set up
within three miles of the
Myne. By your Majesties
favour, I find no reason why
the Spanish Ambassador
should complain of me. If
it were lawfull for the Spa-
niards to murther twentie
fix

six English men, tying them back to back, and then cutting their throats, when they had traded with them a whole moneth, and came to them on the land without so much as one sword, and that it may not be lawfull for your Majesties subjects, being charged first by them, to repell force by force, we may justly say, O miserable *English!*

If *Parker* and *Metham* took *Campeach* and other places in the *Honduraes*, seated in the heart of the Spanish *Indies*, burnt Towns, and killed the Spaniards, and had nothing said unto them at their return, and my self forbore

bore to look into the *Indies*; because I would not offend, I may as justly say, O miserable Sir *Walter Raleigh*!

○ If I have spent my poor estate, lost my son, suffered by sickness and otherwise a world of miseries; if I have resisted with manifest hazard of my life, the Robberies & Spoils, with which my Companions would have made me rich, if when I was poor, I would have made my self rich; if when I have gotten my libertie, which all men and nature it self do much prize, I voluntarily lost it, if when I was sure of my life, I rendered it again, if I might elsewhere have sold my

my ship and goods, and put five or six thousand pounds in my purses, and yet brought her into *England*, I beseech your Majestie to believe, that all this I have done, because it should not be said to your Majestie, that your Majestie had given libertie and trust to a man whose end was but the recoverie of his libertie, and who had betrayed your Majesties trust.

My Mutiniers told me, that if I returned for *England* I should be undone, but I believed in your Majesties goodness more than in all their arguments. Sure, I am the first that being free and able to enrich my self, yet hath

hath embraced povertie and
peril. And as sure I am, that
my example shall make me
the last : but your Majesties
wisdom and goodnes I have
made my judges, who have
ever been, and shall ever be,

Your Majesties

most humble Vassal

Walter Raleigh.



Sir

Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to his Wife, after his Condemnation.

YOU shall receive (my dear Wife) my Last words in these my Last lines; my love I send you, that you may keep when I am dead, & my counsel, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not with my will present you sorrows (dear *Bess*) let them go to the grave with me, and be buried in the dust. And seeing that it is not the will of God that I shall see you any more, bear my destruction patiently, and with an heart like your self.

First

First I send you all the thanks which my heart can conceive, or my words express, for your many travels and cares for me, which though they have not taken effect as you wished, yet my debt to you is not the less; but pay it I never shall in this world.

Secondly, I beseech you, for the love you bare me living, that you do not hide your self many days, but by your travels seek to help the miserable Fortunes, and the Right of your poor Child, your mourning cannot avail me that am but dust.

Thirdly, you shall understand, that my Lands were
conveyed

conveyed (*bona fide*) to my Child, the writings were drawn at Midsummer. was twelve moneths, as divers can witness, and I trust my bloud will quench their malice who desired my slaughter, that they will not seek also to kill you and yours with extream povertie. To what friend to direct you I know not, for all mine have left me in the true time of triall. Most sorrie am I, that being thus surprised by death, I can leave you no better Estate, God hath prevented all my determinations, that great God which worketh all in all, and if you can live free from want, care

G for

for no more, for the rest is but a vanitie : Love God, and begin betimes, in him you shall find true, everlasting, and endless comfort, when you have travelled and wearied your self with all sorts of worldly cogitations, you shall sit down by sorrow in the end. Teach your son also to serve and fear God whilest he is young, that the fear of God may grow up in him; then will God be an Husband to you, and a Father to him, an Husband and a Father, that can never be taken from you.

Baylie oweth me a thousand pounds, and Arjan six hundred in Fernesey also I have

have much owing me. (Dear wife) I beseech you, for my Souls sake, pay all poor men. When I am dead, no doubt you shall be much sought unto, for the world thinks I was very rich; have a care to the fair pretences of men, for no greater miserie can befall you in this life, than to become a prey unto the world, and after to be despised. I speak (God knows) not to dissuade you from Marriage, for it will be best for you, both in respect of God and the world. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine, death hath cut us asunder, & God hath divided me from the world, & you from

me. Remember your poor Child for his Fathers sake, who loved you in his happiest estate. I sued for my life, but (God knows) it was for you and yours that I desired it : for, know it, (my dear Wife) your Child is the Child of a true man, who in his own respect despiseth Death and his misshapen & ugly forms. I cannot write much, (God knows) how hardly I steal this time when all sleep, and it is also time for me to seperate my thoughts from the world. Beg my dead bodie, which living was denied you, and either lay it in *Sherborn* or in *Exeter* Church by my father
ther

ther and mother. I can say
no more, Time and Death
calleth me away. The ever-
lasting God, powerfull, infi-
nite, and inscrutable God
Almightie, who is goodness
it self, the true Light and
Life, keep you and yours,
and have mercy upon me,
and forgive my Persecutors
and false accusers, and send
us to meet in his glorious
kingdom. My dear Wife
farewel, Bless my Boy, Pray
for me, and let my true God
hold you both in his Arms.

Yours that was, but

now not mine own

Walter Raleigh.

Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter
to Prince Henry, touching
the model of a Ship.

Most excellent Prince,

IF the Ship your Highness
intends to build, be bigger
than the *Victorie*, then her
beams, which are laid over-
thwart from side to side will
not serve again, and many
other of her timbers and o-
ther stuff, will not serve,
whereas if she be a size less,
the timber of the old Ship
will serve well to the build-
ing of a new.

If she be bigger she will
be of less use, go very deep
to water, and of mightie
charge, our Channels decay-
ing

ing every year, less nimble,
less mannyable, and seldom
to be used *Grande Navio*,
grande fatica, saith the Spa-
niard.

A Ship of six hundred
Tuns, will carrie as good
Ordinance as a Ship of
twelve hundred Tuns, and
where the greater hath dou-
ble her Ordinance, the less
will turn her broad side
twice, before the great Ship
can wind once, and so no ad-
vantage in that over-plus of
Guns. The lesser will go
over clear where the greater
shall stick and perish, the les-
ser will come and go, leave
or take, and is yare, whereas
the greater is slow, unman-

Sir Walter Raleigh's

able, and ever full of enumber.

In a well conditioned Ship, these things are chiefly required.

1. That she be strong built.

2. Swift in sail.

3. Stout-fideth.

4. That her Ports be so laid, as that she may carry out her Guns all weathers.

5. That she hull and trie well.

6. That she stay well, when boarding, or turning on a wind is required.

To make her strong, consisteth in the care and truth of the work-man; to make her swift, is to give her a large

large Run, or way forward, and so aftward, done by art and just proportion, and that in laying out of her bowes before, and quarters behind, the Ship-wright be sure, that she neither sink nor hang into the water, but lie clear and above it, wherein Ship-wrights do often fail, and then is the speed in sailing utterly spoiled.

That she be stout-sided, the same is provided by a long bearing floar, and by sharing off from above water to the lower edge of the Ports, which done, then will she carry out her Ordinance all weathers.

To make her to hull and

130 Sir *Walter Raleigh's*

to trie well, which is called a good sea-Ship, there are two things principally to be regarded, the one that she have a good draught of water, the other that she be not over-charged : And this is seldom done in the Kings Ships, and therefore we are forced to lye, or trie in them with our main Course and mizen, which with a deep keel and standing streak, she would perform.

The extream length of a Ship makes her unapt to stay, especially if she be floatie and want sharpness of way forward. And it is most true, that such over-long Ships, are fitter for the narrow

row Seas in summer, than for the Ocean, or long voyages : and therefore an hundred foot by the Keel, and thirtie five foot broad is a good proportion for a great Ship.

It is to be noted, that all Ships sharp before, not having a long floar, will fall rough into the sea from a billow, and take in water over head and ears, and the same qualitie have all narrow-quartered ships to sink after the tail. The high Cargeing of ships, is that that brings many ill qualities, it makes them extream Lee-ward, makes them sink deep into the seas, makes them

Sir Walter Raleigh's

them labour fore in foul weather, and oft-times over-set. Safetie is more to be respected than shews, or niceness for ease; in sea-journeys both cannot well stand together, and therefore the most necessarie is to be chosen.

Two Decks and an half is enough, and no building at all above that, but a low Masters Cabbih. Our Masters and Mariners will say, that the ships will bear more well enough; and true it is, if none but ordinarie Mariners served in them. But men of better sort, unused to such a life, cannot so well endure the rowling and tumbling from side to side, where the
seas

seas are never so little grown, which comes by high Cargeing. Besides those high Cabbin-works aloft, are very dangerous in fight, to tear men with their splinters.

Above all other things, have care that the great Guns be four foot clear above water when all lading is in, or else these best pieces are idle at sea: for if the Ports lie lower, and be open, it is dangerous; and by that default was a goodly Ship, and many gallant Gentlemen lost, in the days of *Henry* the Eighth, before the Isle of *Wight*, in a Ship called by the name of *Mary-Rose*.

Sir



Sir Walter Raleigh's

PILGRIMAGE.

GIve me my Scallop shell of Quiet,
My Staff of Faith to walk upon;
My Scrip of Joy immortal Diets,
My Bottle of Salvation.

My Gown of Glorie (Hopes true gage)

And thus Ile take my *Pilgrimage*.

Bloud must be my Bodies onely Balmer,

No other Balm will there be given

Whil'st my Soul, like a quiet Palmer,

Travelleth towards the Land of Heaven.

Over the silver Mountains

Where springs the Nectar Fountains,

There I will kiss the Bowl of Bliss,

And drink mine everlasting fill

Upon every Milken hill.

My Soul will be adrie before,

But after, it will thirst no more.

Ile take them first, to quench my Thirst,

And tast of Nectars suckets,

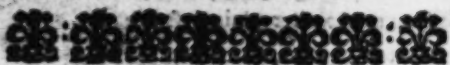
At

Sir Walter Raleigh's

At those clear Wells
 Where sweetness dwells,
 Drawn up by Saints in Chrystal Buckets,
 Then by that happy blestfull day,
 More peacefull Pilgrimes I shall see,
 That have cast off their rags of clay,
 And walk appaselled fresh like me
 And when our Bottles and all we
 Are fill'd with Immortalitie.
 Then the blessed Paths wee'l travel,
 Strow'd with Rubies thick as gravel,
 Sealings of Diamonds, Saphire flowers,
 High walls of Coral, and Pearly Bowers.
 From thence to Heavens bribeless Hall,
 Where no corrupted voices brawl,
 No Conscience molten into Gold,
 No forg'd Accuser bought or sold,
 No cause deferr'd, no vain-spent Journey,
 For there, *CHRIST* is the Kings Attorney;
 Who pleads for all without degrees,
 And he hath Angels, but no Fees:
 And when the twelve Grand-million Iurie
 Of our Sins, with direfull furie,
 'Gainst our Souls black Verdicts give,
 Christ pleads his Death, and then we Live.

Be thou my Speaker [taintless Pleader,
Unblotted Lawyer, true Proceeder.]
Thou would'st Salvation even for Aims,
Not with a bribed Lawyers Palms.
And this is mine eternal Plea
To him that made Heaven, Earth, and Sea,
That since my Flesh must die so soon,
And want a Head to dine next noon,
Just at the stroke, when my Veins start and
Set on my Soul an everlasting Head. (spread,
Then am I ready, like a Palmer, fit (write
To tread those blest Paths which before I
Of Death and Judgment, Heaven and Hell,
Who oft doth think, must needs Die well,

Sir



Sir Walter Raleigh's

V E R S E S ;

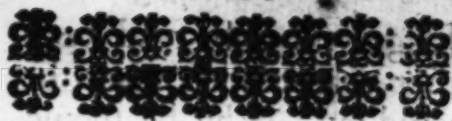
Found in his *Bible* in the
Gate-house at *West-*
minster.

Even such is Time, which takes in trust
Our Youth, our Joys, and all we have,
And pays us nought but Age and Dust,
When in the dark and silent Grave :
When we have wandred all our ways,
Shuts up the storie of our days :
And from which Grave, & Earth, & Dust,
The Lord shall raise me up I trust,

Sir W. RALEIGH,
On the Snuff of a Candle
the night before he died.

Cowards fear to Die, but Courage stout,
Rather than Live in Snuff, will be put out.

Sir



Sir WALTER RALPH'S
S P E E C H

*Immediately before he
was beheaded.*

UPON Simon and Judes
day, the Lieutenante
of the Tower had a War-
rant to bring his Prisoner to
the Kings-Bench in *Westmin-
ster-Hall*, where the Attor-
ney General demanded Exe-
cution, according to the
Judgement pronounced a-
gainst him at *Winchester*, the
Lord Chief Justice caused
the Indictment, Verdict, and
Judge-

140 Sir Walter Raleigh's

Judgement to be read, and after asked him, what he could say, Why he should not die according to the Law; his answer was, That this fifteen years he had lived by the meer mercy of the King; and did now wonder how his Mercy was turned into Justice, he not knowing any thing wherein he had provoked his Majesties displeasure, and did hope, that he was clear from that Judgement by the Kings Commission in making him General of the Voyage to *Guiana*, for (as he conceived) the words, *To his trustie and welbelov'd subject*, &c. Did in themselves imply a Pardon..

don. But Master Attorney told him, these words were not sufficient for that purpose. Whereupon he desired the opinion of the Court, to which the Lord Chief Justice replied, it was no Pardon in Law.

Then began Sir *Walter Raleigh* to make a long description of the events and ends of his Voyage, but he was interrupted by the Chief Justice, who told him, that it was not for any offence committed there, but for his first fact that he was now called in question, and thereupon told him, That seeing he must prepare to die, he would not add affliction to affliction,

on, nor aggravate his fault, knowing him to be a man full of miserie; but with the good *Samaritane* administer oyl and wine for the comfort of his distressed Soul. You have been a General, & a great Commander, imitate therefore that noble Captain, who thrusting himself into the midst of a Battel, cried aloud, *Mors me Expectat, & ego Mortem Expectabo*, as you should not contemn so to do, nor should you fear death, the one sheweth too much boldness, the other no less cowardize, so with some other few instructions the Court arose, and Sir Walter was committed

ed into the hands of the Sheriff of *Middlesex*, who presently conveyed him to the Gate-house in *Westminster*.

Upon Thursday morning this Couragious, although Committed Knight, was brought before the Parliament-house, where there was a Scaffold erected for his Beheading, yet it was doubted over-night that he should be hanged, but it fell out otherwise. He had no sooner mounted the scaffold, but with a chearfull Countenance, and undaunted Look, he saluted the Companie. His Attire was a wrought Night-cap, a Ruff band, a hair-coloured Sattin Doublet,

blet, with a black wrought Waste-coat under it, a pair of black cut Taffety Breeches, a pair of ash-coloured Silk Stockings, & a wrought black Velvet Night-gown; putting off his Hat, he directed his Speech to the Lords present, as followeth.

My honourable Lords, and the rest of my good friends that come to see me die, Know, that I much rejoyce that it hath pleased God to bring me from darknes to light, and in freeing me from the Tower, wherein I might have died in disgrace, by letting me live to come to this place, where though I lose my life, yet I shall

shall clear some false accusations, unjustly laid to my charge, and leave behind me a testimonie of a true heart, both to my King and Countrey.

Two things there are which have exceedingly possest and provoked his Majesties indignation against me, viz. A Confederacie, or Combination with France, and disloyal and disobedient words of my Prince. For the first, his Majestie had some cause, though grounded upon a weak foundation, to suspect mine inclination to the French faction, for not long before my departure from England, the French Agent took occasion, passing by my house, to visit me, and

Two things
Sir W.
Raleigh
accu-
sed of.

H

some

some conference, during the time of his abode, onely concerning my voyage, and nothing else, I take God to witness.

Another suspition is had of me, because I did labour to make an escape from Plymouth to France; I cannot deny, but that willingly, when I heard a rumour, That there was no hope of my life, upon my return to London, I would have escaped for the safe-guard of my Life, and not for any ill intent or conspiracie against the State.

The like reason of suspicion arose, in that I perswaded Sir Lewis Steukly, my Guardian, to flee with me from
London

London to France, but my Answer to this is, as to the other, That onely for my safeguard, and nought else, was my intent, as I shall answer before the Almighty.

It is alleadged, That I feigned my self sick, and by art made my bodie full of blisters when I was at Salisbury. True it is, I did so, the reason was, because I hoped thereby to defer my coming before the King and Councel, and so by delaying, might have gained time to have got my Pardon. I have an Example out of Scripture for my warrant, that in case of necessitie, and for the safeguard of life, David feigned himself foolish and

H 2 mad,

Sir Walter Raleigh's
mad, yet was it not imputed to
him for sin.

Concerning the second Im-
putation laid to my charge,
that I should speak scandalous
and reprochfull words of my
Prince, there is no witness a-
gainst me but onely one, and
he a Chymical French-man,
whom I entertained, rather
for his Fusts than his Judge-
ment: this man so inroach
himself into the favour of the
Lord, and gaping after some
great reward, hath falsly ac-
cused me of Seditious speeches
against his Majestie; against
whom, if I did either speak, or
think a thought hurtfull or
perjudicial, the Lord blot me
out of the booke of Life.

It

It is not a time to flatter or
 fear Princes, for I am a sub-
 ject to none but Death, there-
 fore have a charitable conceit
 of me. That I know to swear
 is an offence, to swear falsely at
 any time is a great sin, but to
 swear false before the presence
 of Almighty God, before
 whom I am forthwith to ap-
 pear, were an offence unpar-
 donable; therefore think me
 not now rashly, or untruly to
 confirm, or protest any thing.

As for other objections, in
 that I was brought perforce
 into England, that I carried
 sixteen thousand pounds in
 money out of England with
 me, more than I made known;
 that I should receive Letters

Sir Walter Raleigh.
from the French King, and
such like, with many Prote-
stations he utterly denied.

F I N I S.



nd
c-